

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

Dare we impose on young conscripts the guilt of using such a weapon? BRITAIN'S A-BOMB — WHO WILL DROP IT?

He would not fight in Korea

TIME TO OBJECT IS WHEN ORDERED TO GO

— Tribunal to CO

By MARY WILLIS

ONE of the London Tribunal's favourite posers is to ask COs whether they think it was wrong to go to the defence of the Jews in Germany. An applicant at last Friday's sitting at Fulham produced—for the first time in my experience—a constructive alternative suggestion.

He was Norman L. Mackenzie, an apprentice electrician, of Warwick Way, London, S.W.1, and when Mr. Tudor Davies put the question to him, he replied, "We could have eliminated the killing of the Jews by bringing them to England."

"You could not have brought them in such large numbers," objected the Chairman, Sir Gerald Hargreaves.

Mackenzie: "Surely it would not have been too much of a burden to spend some millions of pounds to bring them to England, compared with the tremendous sums that were spent on fighting the war."

In his written statement, Mackenzie said, "There can be no fouler thing in the world than a man who supports an organisation which takes life to achieve its own ends. War is the scourge of the poor peoples of the world. It is monstrous that people are urged to support these mad ideas of their countries."

The Chairman said the Tribunal felt that his attitude was violent rather than

(Continued on page six)

OCT. 12, 1915

The German who shared Nurse Cavell's grave

HOMAGE TO A NOBLE SPIRIT

From a Correspondent

FORTITUDE, devotion, humanity, sacrifice. These are the words that are carved into the high pedestal of the memorial designed by Sir E. L. Lutyens to Edith Cavell which stands in London near St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church.

Below her name the words "Brussels, Dawn, October 12, 1915" intimate the time and place of her sacrifice.

The memorial is crowned with the words "For King and Country," but the late F. W. Jowett, when he was at the Office of Works under a Labour Government, feeling that these words were not an adequate expression of Edith Cavell's humanity, had her own words added to the monument.

"Patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness for anyone." These words were pronounced before Edith Cavell was led to execution. They were to have a dramatic and moving—but little known—sequel. Indeed, particulars of it could with seemliness find a place in the inscriptions on the Cavell memorial.

In May 1919 Edith Cavell's body was disinterred, and on May 15 it was brought to Norwich Cathedral.

She had been buried in a Brussels churchyard. When the grave was opened the body of a German soldier was found by her side.

This man was a member of the firing squad who died with her. When the squad were ordered to load their rifles this man refused. He was not a conscientious objector to war but his conscience revolted against what he was ordered to do. The officer in charge of the squad levelled his pistol upon the man and again called upon him to obey the order. The man again refused and he was shot. Immediately afterwards Edith Cavell was shot.

The man's name was Rammeler. It is worthy of a memorial.

German Arms: To-night's meeting

TWO MPs, Fenner Brockway and Victor Yates, will speak in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, at 7.30 p.m. tonight (Friday) on the subject of German rearmament.

"Monte Bello test a provocation" — BRITISH QUAKERS

THE testing of the first British atom bomb last week brought protests from many organisations concerned with the preservation of world peace.

The executive body of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Great Britain issued the following statement on the day the test was announced:

"The explosion of the first British atomic bomb, with the provocation thus given to other nations to redouble their own efforts to rearm, impels Friends (Quakers) to call the nation and the world once more to consider the path they are taking.

"The confidence of Christ was not in violence, nor was His faith and defence the sword. Christians must not seek another road. We know and affirm that there is a better way, the way of forbearance, of reconciliation, of redemptive love."

Peace Pledge Union's statement

Fifty thousand leaflets were distributed throughout Britain carrying a statement by the Peace Pledge Union.

In London the distribution of the leaflets was accompanied by a quarter-mile long poster parade through the West End last Friday.

Carrying posters bearing such words as "Modern War is Mass Murder, More Atom Bombs Won't Stop It", "Would you Drop an Atom Bomb?", "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, London—the Atom Road to War," "Passive Resistance—not the Atom Bomb—the only Defence Britain Needs," they marched from Euston down Tottenham Court Road via Charing Cross Road to Trafalgar Square and back again.

The procession, which was well guarded by police, was orderly and aroused no apparent hostility. On the following evening (Saturday) leaflets were again distributed in Trafalgar Square.

The leaflets questioned, now that Britain had its own bomb, what was to be done with it, and continued:

Obviously it is completely useless unless there is a war.

Millions of pounds, and thousands of hours of labour have been expended on the production of an article that cannot be consumed without a war.

But Britain wants peace.

The British Government declare that the bomb will not be used unless this country, or its allies, are attacked, and that possessing the bomb may be sufficient to deter any potential aggressor.

The idea that threats will prevent war is as old as history itself, yet war has not been prevented, and the fear of it today overshadows the whole world.

The truth is that a threat is never a deterrent to a great Power; it is more often an incitement. The refusal of the USA to share the secret of the atom bomb has not deterred other nations from seeking to discover the secret and possess their own bomb.

Negotiations—not threats

Britain has its own bomb now.

Russia also probably possesses its own stockpile.

It is impossible to negotiate peacefully from behind this arsenal of frightful weapons. Negotiation from strength means being strong enough to get your own way. The other side may have the same wish to get their own way, and the same belief in strength as the effective means towards that end. There is only one conclusion to that—WAR.

Both sides in the Cold War have some responsibility for bringing about the present situation, and the atom bomb won't get us out of it. The time has come to discard the outworn theory that great armaments keep the peace, and to make a fresh start.

Negotiations for the peace that everyone wants must be based, not upon threats, not upon proposals for controlling what is already out of control, but on a determination to find an agreement. Behind negotiations must be, not the atom bomb, but the will to agree.

Disarmament is the only sane and the only moral way to peace.

Challenge to Christians

The 17,000 strong British Fellowship of Reconciliation issued a statement for wide distribution to Christian clergy and Church members challenging Christians to face up to the implications of the preparations for atomic war.

They declare "that for all Christians there is a greater power available—the all enduring love of God."

The For raise the vital question as to who will drop the bomb.

"Dare we impose on young British men the guilt of using such a weapon," they ask.

Copies of the leaflet may be obtained from the For, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. price 2s. 100 post free.

£200m. wasted say scientists

An estimated £200m. has been spent upon a wholly destructive and anti-social enterprise, the National Executive of Science for Peace pointed out in a statement made after the test.

"The only practical defence of Britain today lies in a programme to be undertaken by men who have the moral courage to dissociate themselves from indiscriminate massacre as a military policy, with a twofold aim:

1. The use of scientific resources for the development of our own economy and the raising of world living standards; and
2. The sincere and tireless pursuit of reconciliation.

Science for Peace is not a pacifist organisation and it points out that it does not advocate unilateral surrender of weapons.

They believe that at the present time the measure of agreement already reached between the Powers is, in their opinion, adequate to enable international renunciation of atomic warfare to be achieved without delay, on a basis of reasonable compromise.

Stimulating rivalry

The Crusade for World Government issued a statement in which they said that however gratifying the announcement of an atomic bomb might be from the point of view of national pride and technique, "it can only provide a further stimulus to other nations to rival us in the process of producing weapons of mass destruction.

"We wish to affirm that there is another way to peace. It is that of merging sovereignty and pooling armaments under a world authority elected by the peoples and existing to end the threat of war and prevent world disaster from starvation."

Pacifists demonstrate at S. Africa House

The police-sergeant is watching the poster parade in support of the S. African passive resistance movement reported in PN last week. Standing in the doorway of S. Africa House, London, are Norman Iles and Kathleen Rawlins, members of the Non-violent Resistance Group.



BARRIERS TO LAKE SUCCESS

Why Michael Scott will not be at UN

THE Rev. Michael Scott, who presented the case for the South-West African tribes to the United Nations last year, has refused, as a matter of principle, to subscribe to the American Government's oath concerning political affiliations.

The oath was required when he applied last June for a visa in order to attend the General Assembly of the United Nations as a delegate for the International League for the Rights of Man.

The following is the oath that applicants for entry into the United States have to subscribe to, in order to be present at the proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

I solemnly swear that I am not a member, nor have I ever been a member of the Communist, Nazi, Fascist, Falange or any other totalitarian party or any section, branch, subsidiary, affiliate or subdivision of such party in any country. Furthermore I have never been affiliated with any such organisation. I clearly understand that under the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 I am inadmissible to the United States if I have been in any way affiliated with any Communist, Nazi, Fascist, Falange or totalitarian organisation.

The alternative to subscribing to this oath is to provide, on oath, the following information:

- a. State names of all organisations, including political parties, of which alien has been a member since 1918, or to which he has given financial or other support, giving details of membership and dates of contributions.
- b. Nature and purpose of each organisation named, and country where located.
- c. State whether named organisation was a section, subsidiary branch, affiliate, or subdivision of any other organisation or political party. If so, give name and location of parent organisation.
- d. State offices, if any, held by alien in named organisations and extent to which alien participated in the activities programme and policies of each organisation.

Michael Scott told a press conference in London last week "I am not a Communist, but I do not think Communists should be prevented from going to UNO."

"The wrong place for UN headquarters" page 2.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

10th October, 1952.

THE WRONG PLACE FOR UN HEADQUARTERS

IT has become evident that a big mistake was made when the United Nations decided that their headquarters should be situated in the U.S.A.

A primary requirement for a satisfactory centre for the deliberations of a world organisation is freedom of movement among those who desire to attend its meetings as observers or as press representatives.

It had not become clear in 1945, when the decision was taken as to the siting of the headquarters, that both Russia and the U.S.A. were undesirable places for the centre of such an organisation as the United Nations. By the time a beginning had been made in construction, however, in 1949, it had become evident that Russia would be completely unsuitable, and it was also becoming very doubtful whether the U.S.A. was much better.

The passage into law of the Internal Security Act (the MacCarran Act) on September 23, 1950, resolved any doubts that might be left, and it is today quite obvious that it is just as undesirable that the United Nations headquarters should be situated in the U.S.A. as it would have been if it had been situated in Russia.

Considerable expenditure has been undertaken in the establishment of the headquarters, but the matter is of such great importance that this expenditure should not prevent the problem from being brought under review.

We have, of course, yet to see—after the end of the fighting in Korea—whether there can be a future function in the world for UNO in its present form, but if it is to continue it cannot do so satisfactorily on its present basis at Lake Success.

Even when the decision was made, the greater part of Europe was against the placing of the headquarters in the U.S.A. The French and Danish delegates made strong pleas that the UN centre should be in Europe, the claims of Brussels, Copenhagen, and Prague being mentioned. Mr. Noel-Baker on behalf of Great Britain expressed the view that the seat should be in the territory of a small power in a place as "non-political" and non-national as they could find.

This seems to be the common sense of the matter; certainly a minimum requirement should be that the State in which the headquarters is to be located should not have an onerous and restrictive set of visa regulations that make easy access to the Assembly meetings impossible, and that must associate with every meeting of the Assembly the creation of trouble and inconvenience for a great number of people whose representative duties or a laudably keen interest as citizens in the problems of the world today prompt attendance at the Assembly meetings.

Incidentally a contribution to the discussion grimly humorous in retrospect, was that made by Dr. Hoo, of China (Nationalist China, of course). He urged that the site should not be placed in Europe as Europe contained most of the world's "neuralgic centres." The U.S.A. should therefore provide the place for the "clinic."

On our front page we publish the oath to which those who wish to travel to Lake Success are required to subscribe, with the preposterous inquisition that is offered as an alternative.

Mr. Michael Scott, who has been asked to be present as a representative of the International League for the Rights of Man (a body that has been accorded consultative status by the United Nations) has refused to give this undertaking or the information required, and he is to be congratulated on challenging the requirement on the issue of principle.

It is clear that accredited representatives of bodies accepted as having value by the United Nations itself need to have access to UN headquarters. This, however, is only one aspect of the trouble. The peoples of the world are entitled to get their news of the proceedings of the United Nations from sources that are independent of the "screening" processes of any one of the nations that make up the membership of UN.

The control exercised by the United States in regard to the United Nations is not confined to attendance at meetings of the Assembly. We have already referred to allegations that there have been dismissals from the UN staff on the intervention of the FBI, that appointments to the staff are subject to US screening procedures, that these procedures are not confined to American members of the staff, and that American members of the UN staff have been interrogated by the MacCarran Committee on un-American activities, under oath and threat of perjury proceedings, as to internal UN matters including the authorship of unsigned reports.

How right was Mr. Noel Baker when he claimed that the headquarters of the UN should be situated somewhere "as non-political and as non-national" as possible. A small island would probably be the ideal situation; but a basic requirement is that there shall be no external interference with the UN staff and that should visas be necessary at all there should be no elaborate "screening" procedure before they are provided.

Mr. Stalin's pronouncement

MR. STALIN'S fifty-page article in *Bolshevik*, in which he claimed that war between Russia and the West was unlikely and that war between contending factions in the West had now become a probability will probably not convince many people outside Russia, but we hope that it will not be without its effect on political thinking in the West.

It is clear that underneath the economic situation created by the West's stupendous armaments programmes, there are all the factors necessary to produce again the same kind of economic crisis that we knew in the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

At some time the policy of arms expansion must end, and if it does not end in war the problems that it is at present concealing will present themselves for solution or as the causes of widespread distress.

America has been very generous with the rest of the West through Marshall Aid and "mutual security" assistance but outside these things it has been very unaccommodating, and the tariff system it has built up in a futile endeavour to construct an economic system in which it can sell without buying is only one of the factors that promises further trouble.

War for markets

Stalin is clearly right in the assumption that an intense trade struggle is threatened in the future for market possibilities that will have been severely limited as a consequence of the different economic arrangements that have been made in the East and he describes as having created a situation in which there are two parallel world markets.

Stalin may be right in his view that the West will not be able to solve the problems that are here presented. Certainly there has so far been no plan propounded by either the Conservatives or Labour in this country that give any clear promise of success.

He may be right in his view that the tensions created must result in war. What is not clear is why he should now assume that the war will more probably be between the Western powers than with Russia.

The economic tensions he describes could just as effectively be removed by war with Russia as by war between the powers contending for markets; and this is the assumption that has hitherto been made by the Communists.

A new peace petition needed

However this may be, the implications of Stalin's view need to be considered.

One obvious effect they should have is on the agendas of the British Peace Committee and the World Peace Council.

More time will clearly have to be given at the meetings of these bodies than has been in the past to ways and means of preventing war between Great Britain and America.

Anti-militaristic forces gain in Japan

JAPANESE election results provide only limited satisfaction for the American mentors of the Japanese people in democratic practice.

AUTUMN LEAVES IN THE S. AFRICAN SPRING

By O. CALDECOTT

TWENTY-TWO prominent South African Europeans have issued an appeal for the adoption of a new colour policy which would attract the support of politically-conscious non-Europeans.

The statement expresses alarm at the growth of the resistance movement and the situation which has brought this about. It appeals to South Africa to accept the old Cape Colony tradition of equal rights for all civilised people and equal opportunities for all to become civilised. Only the renewal of this tradition, it is argued, can invest the South African government with a moral basis, only by this means can the most pressing grievances of the non-Europeans be met.

The statement concludes by suggesting the immediate repeal of "the most mischievous measures on the Statute Book" (e.g. the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the pass laws) and the acceptance of Cape tradition as a basis for negotiation between the races with, as the ultimate goal, equality for all civilised people.

The sentiments of this statement are admirable enough; there is no doubt that only by negotiation can race war be prevented. But there is equally little doubt that on neither side of the Iron Curtain of colour will there be any response to the measured tones of the liberals' appeal. Indeed, the declaration has an autumn quality—it seems to have drifted down like a golden leaf and to lie dead upon the sidewalk of history reminding all who see it of the high summer of colonial liberalism and imperialism, and of the approach of a chilling, gloomy winter, storm-tossed by political and racial passion.

The liberalism—the "European liberalism"—which the twenty-two signatories support is reviled by White racialist, Black politician and Marxist socialist alike. To the first, it seemed a subtler and more insidious

Mr. Yoshida and his Liberal Party retain power.

The Socialist Party of the Left, however, which is firmly opposed to Japanese rearmament, has trebled the number of seats it holds, while the Socialists of the Right, who are only ready to accept a very moderate arms programme, have also had their successes.

What seems to be clear is that of the two overthrown militaristic structures, now under pressure to revive themselves, whatever may be the case in Germany there is at present no possibility of the reinstatement of conscription in Japan.

Swaziland Goose and Nyasaland Gander

WHATEVER one's view of Dr. Malan it is impossible to question the soundness of the view he expressed in a speech at the Transvaal Nationalist Conference in Pretoria last week.

Dr. Malan's Party claims the right to incorporate the three protectorates of Basuto-

MONTE BELLO

"This revelation of the secrets of nature, long mercifully withheld from man, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that those awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations, and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

—Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Aug., 1945.

"Please convey to those concerned at Monte Bello and at home the thanks of H.M. Government for all their toil and skill which have carried this great enterprise to fruition."

—Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Oct. 3, 1952.

land, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in the Union of South Africa.

The British Government holds that this should only be done if the native populations of these lands are consulted and give their consent, a recognition of the human rights of African natives that is an affront to Dr. Malan's conceptions.

However, Dr. Malan points out that when it is a question of Central African Federation the British Government is quite prepared to join with the Government of Southern Rhodesia in imposing the plan despite the declared opposition of the natives, and he remarks that if this happens he will expect the same procedures to be applied in the fulfilment of his

version of Communist egalitarianism; to the second, it is a tactic of the master-race to mislead and dupe the non-White masses by offering words, not deeds, for their betterment; to the last-named it is mere bourgeois sentimentalism, incapable of affecting the historical development of class society.

But political history is not as regular and predictable as the change of seasons, historical laws are not so unalterable as they seem, racial and class loyalties are not entirely unmixed with genuine passion for justice. Liberalism, in the broadest sense, the capacity to step outside racial and class boundaries and affect the course of social change in terms of an ideal—such liberalism might yet have its Indian summer in South Africa, might yet thaw the political and emotional frosts, if only for a spell.

To do so liberalism must stand unflinchingly upon the principle of common humanity, reject completely the perpetuation of white domination and the iniquitous device of the colour bar. But liberalism of this sort, liberalism which bridges the colour chasm, has not yet appeared as a substantial factor in the South African collective psyche, White or Black.

Student liberalism

Replying to a demand that non-European students be removed from South Africa's two "mixed" universities, a demand made by a Nationalist Professor, the Students' Council of Cape Town University stated that the University was not a European university which merely accepted non-Europeans, but one which belonged to all groups and which regarded studentship alone, and not race, as the criterion for admission. It added that the high standards attained by the university were due to the contributions of both Black and White.

This forthright statement, an example of genuine liberalism, is a cheering sign that, here and there, there are gaps in the storm clouds.

BEHIND THE NEWS

demands regarding Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

It is a pity the Government has not been able to reach the obviously right decision without this kind of pressure, but it is likely that Dr. Malan's warning will cause them to think again.

What happened at Morecambe

THERE has been a great outpouring of ponderous nonsense in the newspapers since the election for the new Labour Party Executive took place last week.

The real significance of the result of the ballot for the representatives of the local Labour Parties has not been recognised.

The trouble with the vote cast that put Mr. Bevan and his associates on the Executive, was not that it brought in personal issues but precisely the contrary, that it had to eliminate them; and that this produced certain hardships that great numbers of the delegates voting in this section would have preferred to avoid.

If this vote had been cast in consideration of personal record and capacity obviously Mr. Herbert Morrison would have been elected in preference to some of those who secured a higher vote.

Mr. Morrison was not a victim of personal ingratitude; he was a sacrifice to the organisational structure of the Labour Party, which made it possible for the political rank and file to give expression to their views only by his displacement.

The local Labour Parties might have sought to express their views on policy by means of a resolution or by an adverse vote on a report. They knew, however, that they could not do so. Their 1,135,000 votes would have been overwhelmed by the 4,967,000 votes held by the Trade Union leaders.

Policy first

It should not be assumed from these figures however, that it was in the working out of democratic procedures that they would have lost the day.

In most cases the Trade Union leaders would be voting for themselves alone on issues upon which they had not taken the views of their own membership. The views expressed in the local Labour Party votes, do not, of course, represent the views of the organised Labour movement as a whole, but they are much more likely to be near to it than are the votes of the Trade Union officials.

Now it happens that in the operations of the Labour Party Conference the single issue upon which the representatives of the local Labour Parties are able to express the mandates of the people they represent independently of the unmandated votes of the Trade Union officials is in the election of the local Labour Party representatives to the Executive.

The consequences is that when, as at the last two Conferences, a policy declaration can be made by means of this vote, personal considerations have to take second place to the unique opportunity that is offered.

Hence Messrs. Morrison and Dalton lose their seats. They are in fact victims of the Party structure, a sacrifice to the trade union caucus-maintaining operations. Many of the delegates who voted to displace them, while, like ourselves, being glad of the policy declaration that thus became possible, will wish them well in the Party in the future.

Another united peace front?

THREE months ago a provisional international committee to form a peace movement on an anti-Communist basis was formed in Paris.

Leon Jouhaux, the trade union leader who was appointed president, has recently been in London to forward the movement in this country.

He has had discussions with Mr. Deakin and Sir Vincent Tewson on the subject. Mr. Noel-Baker is an adherent.

The aim is to combat the view that all peace calls must be labelled Communist.

It intends, says the Daily Telegraph, "to rely on demands from people for peace, social progress and fundamental freedoms." It will be seen that if the plan matures the organisation will be the twin of the World Peace Council. The name suggested, "Fighting Democracy", is much too belligerent. The members may, of course, be expected to be peace fighters, but if they want to counter the claim that peace activity is a monopoly of Communist-inspired organisations they should not bring fighting into the title.

Why not the "International Peace Council," making it another united front of armed peace-lovers against war?

TODAY'S HAPPY THOUGHT

"As long as Britain remains on our side, it will be pleasing to know that she too can make and throw these deadly weapons."

—New York Daily News.

How pleasant is the thought that Britain (Whom often we have cause to chide) Can make and throw this deadly weapon— (Provided she is on our side!)

PHYLIS VALLANCE.

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Where is true democracy?

At a time when a state of crisis in national and international matters has apparently become permanent, the major political parties differ less and less in their main policies.

It is tacitly agreed not to disagree on foreign policy. Consequently there can be no serious disagreement about arms, rearmament and the preparation of atomic weapons, sound-beating aircraft and other things which can benefit mankind not at all, but which cost so much money that there has to be party agreement also about the main lines of policy to meet the economic crisis.

And while wasting assets away all parties talk glib nonsense about increased production, increased exports, decreased imports, wage restraint, a stable pound and recovery just round the corner.

In the midst of this, the citizens of our democratic state have a vote which they may use, once every few years, when the Government so decides—not when the citizens decide, for they have no say in the matter.

THE VOTE

This precious vote (and it is precious and I do not belittle its value) may then be used to try to put into office one party or another of those who do not differ on many of the main issues; or the vote may be used hopefully on behalf of some minority group which cannot hope to affect major policy.

Fortunately this is not the whole story of democracy; it has other outlets in speech, meetings, writing, and there have been times when public opinion has had a cumulative effect.

At no point, however, do any but an extremely small minority of citizens have any voice in, or chance to affect, the daily affairs of their lives, their working conditions, the use of their labour, the direction of their product. In these matters, moreover, the people have come little nearer to any true democracy even in the fields where their votes may have had some effect—in the nationalisation of some of the industries.

BUREAUCRACY

The complaint that the public services, like the private businesses, were run simply for private profit, no longer holds. The nationalisation of some industries meets the first stage of the socialist conception of democratic control—public ownership. This has not in fact, however, brought a true democracy any nearer. A few Trade Union leaders have been put on national boards but one Citrine does not make a democratic summer; and the bureaucracy against which the opponents of socialism always warned us has come precious near to being a true danger.

As a Yorkshire miner said to me "Some different fellows now turn up in the motor cars; that's all."

These thoughts spring from reading a pamphlet "Industry and Democracy," an historical outline by Maurice B. Reckitt, published by the League for Workers' Control at 1s.

It traces the efforts towards the establishment of workers' control in industry. The guilds, the Owen experiments, the work and propaganda of G. D. H. Cole and others (that interesting periodical "New Standards" is not mentioned by the way) are summarised and our thoughts are returned to an issue we have tended to neglect in the struggle for political control.

Working conditions have certainly greatly improved in recent years, wages are better, hours less exhausting (apart from the weariness of boredom induced by mass production) but in the end the workers are little happier, and many of them have not even a memory, and millions not even a hope, of satisfaction and happiness from their work or even from having a choice or voice in the organisation and use of their work.

WORKERS' CONTROL

In the end, what is the use of changing parties and governments and even owners, if these changes still give no chance to affect the daily round, to assume some responsibility for one's daily work which, after all, is, or should be, the main activity of daily life?

Without responsibility or joy in work all other but the great human joys of love and friendship (and these are seen by few) are but simply artificial attachments to the central wilderness of life. We who want a new and peaceful way of life know that war arises from tensions.

True democracy in industry would be one of the factors which would help to reduce that tension, and some wise employers have already discovered that and acted on it, in the admittedly limited establishment of works councils and personnel departments. But these touch only the fringe of the real problem; true workers' control will involve a sharing of greater responsibilities but will be most effective in the small groups and workshops.

This important pamphlet should set some of us working and thinking again in the search for that sort of democracy.

FRANK DAWTRY.

Introducing a new PN series

TRIUMPHS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

ELLEN STARR BRINTON, American Quaker and former curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection in Pennsylvania, has collected for Peace News material on a number of incidents NOT found in history books.

This week's article, an introduction to the series, will be followed by others telling of wars that did not happen; how British conscientious objectors reformed the prison system; how American objectors changed the mental institutions; how the peace movement sponsored and popularised anti-slavery and women's rights as well as labour, racial and religious equality. Some will come from the pen of Ellen Starr Brinton, some from other contributors.

It is hoped that readers will join in, searching out and bringing to light other situations throughout the world which were guided to a happy conclusion by peace workers.

THE peace movement is a comparatively recent phenomenon. The first peace groups of the world were organised in England and the United States in the 1814-1816 period. In the hundred and thirty-six years since then, hundreds, possibly thousands, of societies, organisations, and committees have been formed with the definite objective of working for the abolition of war.

Some of these groups were of a temporary nature and disappeared when the immediate crisis was over. Many slowed down after the first enthusiasm, failing to adjust to changing conditions and changing attitudes of the times. Some wanted "peace" without being ready to face the real issues involved or make the sacrifices needed to obtain the objective of no more wars. Others feared the charges of "anti-patriotism," and at the first hint of actual declaration of war, adopted new policies and supported military programmes.

Where militarists err

"The peace movement has failed." That assumption of defeat has been made over and over again by the sceptic, the unthinking, the disillusioned. The militarist and the materialist have declared that the greatest wars of all times have occurred since the rise of peace movement activities; that international warfare has come about because of weakening of internal security, through the reduction of armaments, as a result of lowering of military budgets.

Actually the victories of the peace movement have been widespread, deep, and far-reaching. But they are not generally known. The whole story of world affairs has not by any means been told in history books or by writers of historic events. "Happy is the country that has no history"—is a saying that has great meaning here.

Most history books have dealt with disputes and warfare. The real triumphs of the peace movement and its leaders have to do with matters which never got into the headlines or into history books—international disagreements which were arbitrated; conflicts settled without bloodshed; injustices corrected before a tumult developed; changes in internal social practices which helped to solve national and international problems; improvements in the relations of employee and employer; friendly contacts between religious groups and racial groups; new ideas on the status of women; recognition of the rights of minorities.

Failures and successes

These things did not just happen! It took the vision of dreamers, the persistence of crusaders, and the courage of martyrs to break the chains of custom and tradition and to bring about any kind of new order.

When a group of such pioneers devoted themselves consistently to a definite cause for public service, without regard to personal loss or community opinion, practising what they preached, in all sincerity and without vengeance, something always happened. Ideas flowed from person to person. Support was gathered; statements were proclaimed; those in high places listened whether they wanted to or not. A suggestion that at first seemed a preposterous fantasy out of some erratic mind would spread until it became a popular movement backed with general approval. Often it is politically unwise, or strategically harmful to give credit to the beholders of the first vision.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of the peace movement was simply to stay alive during World War II. Since their beginning in 1815 peace groups tended to either die out during wartime or to take over the military point of view. Several world-known peace groups with splendid records during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries collapsed and became completely ineffective during the tensions of the 1913-1914 period. The handful of leaders had not realised that education for peaceful living must be a continuous process involving the masses of all ages and all classes, backed with facts sound enough to offset the pressure of ambitious brass-hats. Some groups founded especially to promote world peace—The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, for instance—changed their policy at the beginning of World War I and supported it, and did the same in World War II.

In contrast, several great international peace groups of the present day which had come into action during or shortly after World War I maintained their opposition to all wars, and actually grew in importance and prestige during World War II. These are the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' International, the Women's International League for Peace

Corder Catchpool

A personal tribute

By AYLMEER ROSE

I SHOULD like, as one intimately associated with Corder Catchpool between 1916 and 1919, to pay a small tribute to his memory.

It is not easy for pacifists too young to remember the uncertainty and anxiety which the first imposition of conscription brought with it, to appreciate the thrill of admiration and pride with which we greeted Corder when he threw up the safe and honourable position of Adjutant to the Friends Ambulance Unit to take his place among the COs who were then facing the unknown ordeals of court martial and prison.

For some months Corder came regularly as a co-opted adviser to the meetings of the National Committee of the No Conscription Fellowship. I remember him as generally silent, but smiling quietly and radiating an immense confidence.

*

His arrest came before mine, but we met again in Ipswich prison in 1917, and were together until our release in April, 1919. I do not remember anyone else in prison who invariably displayed the same quiet cheerfulness. I found his conversation at exercise, when I was fortunate enough to be his companion, an unmatched tonic. We often talked about the problems of world history suggested by the historians we were both studying. But the greater part of his spare time in his cell was given to the study of German, which he afterwards turned to such admirable use.

I can recall him going round the exercise yard on cold mornings with his hands tucked into the cuffs of the opposite sleeves and the quiet, cheerful smile on his face, dark-bearded then because his hair was so dark and thick and grew so rapidly between "clippings."

His sense of humour was always playful and never unkind, but it was subtle enough to be ironic on occasion. I can still see the quiet lift of his eyebrow when, on Christmas morning, we were switched for exercise—just that once—to the little garden where the murderers were buried, each with his tablet with initials and date of execution.

*

It fell to my lot as library clerk to catalogue Corder's book "On Two Fronts" when it was added to the prison library. The Home Office quaintly enough considered these adventures of a pacifist suitable reading for the fellow-prisoners of the author.

My last personal contact with Corder was shortly before the second war, when he gave me invaluable detailed advice which enabled a German Jewish family to come here on a temporary passport and afterwards to settle in America. There were masses of trammelling red tape which would not have been easy to cut without his assistance. I have often reflected on the hundreds whom he must have similarly helped with his special knowledge. All I can record is one tiny fragment from what Wordsworth called "that best portion of a good man's life, his little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love."

LUXURIES AND NECESSITIES

A LADY has sent us a substantial gift of money, "as a result," she says, "of being parsimonious."

Strange choice of words. "Parsimonious" suggests stinginess, which she most conspicuously lacks. But perhaps she was thinking of its Latin origin—"parcere", to spare.

Here is a branch of economics which has no rules. How much can people spare? It is when asking what people can do without that one sees the infinite variety of human nature.

For example: which should go first—luxuries or necessities? It was all very well for that Frenchman to say, "Give me the luxuries and I will dispense with the necessities." For which are which? A luxury to one is a pain in the neck to another. And so is a necessity.

People tell us we could easily give up this, or that, as if all things were of equal value to everyone. Ridiculous. What's the use of saying to two men, "Give up smoking," when one would just as soon chew gum, and the other would sooner die?

Food is supposed to be a necessity. Yet we can safely say to many people, "Give up half your food." For is it not true that one half of what you eat keeps you alive, and the other half keeps the doctor alive?

So I do not know what to ask people to do without in order to keep PN alive. I am only concerned that they should do without something, so that they do not have to do without PN. For PN is both a luxury and a necessity.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Sept. 26: £84 16s. 4d. Total for 1952: £866 5s. 4d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 1 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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PROPAGANDA

For peace—or war?

The following statement was approved by the recent Elfinward Conference of the International Liaison Committee of Peace Organisations.

THIS Conference desires to draw attention to the dangerous situation created by the present methods of disseminating information through the Press, Radio and Cinema.

Through these (and other) means the minds of men are being prepared for war by the claim that war is the inevitable outcome of a political or economic system. The assumption is made that war would be a possible and, even a successful solution, of the problem facing mankind.

But propaganda is assuming even more subtle forms than that of a direct incitement to war and war preparation, as for example, the insistence on the universal superiority of the system it seeks to commend or on the absolute rightness in the past, present and future, of the cause which it is advocating.

*

Propaganda which claims for its own side a monopoly in the desire for peace and which condemns the other side as warmongers is war propaganda.

It substitutes a one-sided assertion for the search after objective truth and a peace superior to the interests of any one power. It accustoms men's minds to regard as justifiable every action of their own government, even when that action is aggressive in character, and it sometimes leads them to hope for a crusade of liberation.

At the same time we draw attention to the dangers of a sensational Press which by the exploitation of the brutal and morbid, disintegrates the minds of its readers, gives them no real understanding of current affairs and leads them to look upon the horrors of war itself as exciting news items.

In our judgment all genuine peace campaigns must be free from hatred or a priori accusations. Only so can they help to show more clearly where real responsibility rests.

Peace propaganda should direct men's minds towards a critical study of news in order to stimulate that search for truth which is inseparable from any realisation of the respect due to human personality.

Peace propaganda should give prominence to peaceful acts performed by the different nations and by men of every country. It should demonstrate that a true peace would make possible the rehabilitation of under-developed areas, and would enable the peoples of the world to raise their standard of living and be free to choose their own form of government.

*

Finally we invite a much more vigorous support for the peace Press, and in general for all publications which in every sphere respect the principle of peaceful co-existence of different media and reconciliation.

AMERICAN NEGRO TELLS LONDON MEETING OF

The hope and promise of the Gold Coast

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

RACE relations throughout the world can be solved only in the light of the truth as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified, said Bayard Rustin to a meeting in London arranged by the London Fellowship of Reconciliation and the London Peace Pledge Union on his return from West Africa last week. The Reverend Claude Colman was in the Chair.

Where two and a half million white people have control of the lives and destinies of nine million black people, said the speaker, there is in political terms no workable or practical answer: there is only a spiritual answer.

Violence begets violence. The Mau Mau organisation, abhorred by most Africans, is violent; but it is not as violent as the conditions which brought it about. For the past eighty years the British have driven the people of Kenya off their land, two thirds of the good land is reserved for 30,000 whites; five and a half million black men are restricted to the worst areas. A black man cannot enter the same hotel, eat at the same restaurant, nor ride in the same railway coach. A black teacher receives £350 a year; a white man for doing the same work receives £900.

Nigeria's "flying newspaper"

"A non-violent answer in these circumstances," he continued, could only come from a new insight. Where could this come from. Certainly not the Churches. The missionaries aimed to convert numbers, and Christianity was watered down to this end. The three African representatives at the World Conference of the Society of Friends in Britain did not know the meaning of the word pacifism.

There are two outstandingly great men in Africa to whom we should give support: the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah and the Nigerian leader, Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Kwame Nkrumah was a man of great religious fervour. He rose at four, prayed, saw the fifty or sixty people who might be waiting for him at the gates, heard their troubles, and with the help of young assistants who remained in the room during interviews, solved their problems. Later in the day he would travel from village to village explaining in simple language the political issues of the day; hence he became known as the "flying newspaper." No decision was ever taken without fasting and prayer. Therein lay a danger for he could come to believe that his actions were in fact the acts of God.

Bayard Rustin recalled that when Nkrumah and his followers were in prison, through their leadership of a general strike, they had been almost unanimously elected. There were occasions when the British could be magnanimous. This was one.

Reservists at Appellate Tribunal

A FORMER major, now a University lecturer at Birmingham told London Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors recently that he considered the development of modern weapons of mass-destruction had radically altered the character of war. He now felt the only sane course was to stay out of war.

His name was Ronald Frederick Willetts, and he had previously done six years military service in the infantry and the Intelligence Corps but it was at the time of the atom-bombing of Japan that he received a moral shock which caused him to revise his whole attitude to war.

That bombing was, and still remains, "an act of wanton destruction," said Mr. Willetts. Anything which contributed to the belief that war might yet achieve something was a contribution to the destruction of civilisation.

Even though it were merely a matter of a fortnight's service as a reservist Mr. Willetts felt obliged to refuse and in so doing hoped that he might assist in demonstrating the futility of war reparations and the war mentality. Atomic weapons and guided missiles rendered the defence of this country impossible.

Mr. Willetts was recommended to be regarded as a conscientious objector.

Crash changed his mind

It was when he saw the crash of a plane which he had helped to bring down that ex-RAF man F. Graham had cause to doubt the rightness of his part in the last war.

"I looked on the destruction," he said, "and I saw that what I had done was wrong."

"Since then my conviction has strengthened and I am no longer able to take part in military service."

No personal sacrifice was too great to avoid war, Mr. Graham told the Tribunal.

He was recommended to be regarded as a CO.

They realised that these were the men the people wanted. So they were released. A cabinet was formed in which only three white men sat, and there was an understanding with the Governor that their decisions should not be vetoed.

"People in Britain should do everything possible to see that absolute freedom is granted the people of the Gold Coast," he continued.

"If only one group of black men in Africa are given freedom, then the whole complexion of Africa would be changed. Then the Mau Mau would lose its power. For the spiritual answer lies in freedom for that group which is most ready for it, and where it can best come."

Bayard Rustin frankly admitted that in political and economic terms the people were not ready. It would be an act of love in which there was obvious danger. But given freedom, he believed that the Africans of the Gold Coast would turn to the British, ask that the civil servants might remain, that trade agreements might be granted, that they might stay in the Empire. Thus out of insecurity would come the greatest security of all.

The other outstanding man to whom he had referred, Nnamdi Azikiwe, had provided money for two American negroes to go to Nigeria to instruct the Africans in non-violence, and to start a Gandhian movement in Africa.

During questions Bayard Rustin said that it was tragic that in their struggle the African people had received little encouragement from white people—even the Quakers went to their separatist churches. Only the Communists said "we will stand by you" and consequently much of the leadership fell into their hands. What he would like to see would be three members of the For in jail beside the coloured people of South Africa.

Home again in the USA after a year in Europe, ROY KEPLER, former Field Secretary of the War Resisters' League of New York has written some suggestions for Europeans who want to know—

What to do about Americans

I HAVE just returned to the United States after almost a year's residence in France and W. Europe. Despite wide travel and careful reading during that period, I have not become an expert on European affairs. On the other hand, my European experience has helped my understanding of my own country and my fellow-countrymen. In offering suggestions to Peace News readers my only claim to "expertise," therefore is that I do know something about Americans which might be useful to others.

Throughout Europe I met people who asked me questions, or who made statements, about America which were remarkably alike. These statements were often "satellite" statements; i.e., they revealed feelings of unwilling and irritated submission to an overwhelming force. Yet, at the same time, they were statements of genuinely friendly concern.

The question put to me by an Englishman I met on a train between London and York admirably summed up most of these feelings: "Well," he asked, "now that you own us, what are you going to do with us?"

This question assumed complete American control of major European policy in foreign relations and economic matters. It assumed the inevitability of American control and the inability of Europeans to influence major decisions. When I suggested that the British Government, for instance, might say a decisive "no" to some disliked American recommendation, I was told this was impossible—U.S. economic power alone was decisive.

Assuming this to be true, the resulting attitude throughout Europe tends then to one of frustration and irritation. America is pictured as a great monolithic force, a vast economic club in the hands of an energetic but simple-minded ("immature") population.

Vicious circle of frustration

But European reactions are ambivalent. America both attracts and repels. However, repulsion tends to overcome attraction as the conviction deepens that "there is nothing we can do about the Americans. They are set on forcing their policies on us and will succeed because of their economic power." Hence the rapidly growing anti-American feeling in most of W. Europe and, perhaps most strongly, in Great Britain.

Since, in my observation, we all tend to act on our assumptions, Europeans seem embarked upon a vicious circle of frustration and disappointment. For they have tended to assume "we can't do anything about the Americans." And so, by definition, there is nothing to be done.

My suggestion to Europeans—and to people everywhere—is that you can do something about the Americans.

You can avoid over-generalisation about Americans and the lumping of them into a monolithic whole—despite the temptations

Briefly...

The Oxford Area Association for Peace public opinion poll reported in Peace News on Aug. 22 is to be discussed at this month's meeting of the New York State Peace Council. The Council have asked affiliated groups: "Does this suggest a timely and valuable project for our State Council this fall? Would it be interesting to ask the same questions in New York and compare results with the English polls?"

Hampstead Peace Pledge Union Group have started Sunday morning open-air meetings at Whitestone Pond.

The World Club, which meets in the North Room at the Conway Hall, London, W.C.1, has arranged three talks on the aims and ideas of particular countries, to be given by members of the embassies of the countries concerned. Today, Friday, the subject will be Yugoslavia; on Tuesday, October 21 there will be a talk on Sweden, and on Tuesday, December 16 one on Turkey. All are welcome to the meetings, which start at 7.30 p.m.

Eltham PPU Group have ordered 5,000 leaflets and 25 posters to advertise a public meeting "A New Way to Peace" which they are holding on October 24. They are also making announcements in the local press. Details of the meeting are in the Diary on p.5.

The International Registry of World Citizens is in process of reorganisation. For the time being, all correspondence should be sent to: Registre International des Citoyens du Monde, 55 rue Lacépède, Paris V, France. Suggestions with regard to the reorganisation will be welcomed.

To help African passive resisters, the London Area PPU are sending £5 to the Rev. Michael Scott for the families and dependents of those in gaol. Southend PPU are also raising a fund for the same purpose.

Chelsea pacifists are to maintain a Peace News selling pitch outside Sloane Square Station on Fridays as part of a winter campaign. Lewisham PPU group have been concentrating on door to door canvassing with PN.

What Americans

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What to do about Americans

FROM PAGE 4

It is worth noting that the American Government's accommodation to India was due in part to the internal organisation in the U.S. of a large body of public opinion in favour of accommodation. This was possible because India's friends in the U.S. could point to a clear-cut Indian policy supported by Indian opinion.

So, to all those people in the world who seek friendly but equal relationships with the U.S., my suggestion is that they should not underestimate the power of a firmly held difference of opinion in dealings with the U.S. If on any specific issue—say German rearmament—Europeans hold fundamentally different views than that which American policymakers assert, then they should not forget that firm organisation of public opinion is basic to the outcome of the difference. For example, there are many Americans who are opposed to German rearmament. However, their opinion on this matter is mostly an intellectual one and certainly hasn't the emotional conviction of that of a Frenchman. Therefore, if the French seem to accept a policy of German rearmament, why should the Americans actively oppose it? On the other hand, if there were a clear and decisive opinion in France opposing German rearmament, if the French could get their Government to oppose it—or the British theirs—then Americans opposed to such rearmament could be organised and a body of American opinion against German rearmament would emerge.

In summary, I urge Europeans to re-examine their present assumption about America before concluding them to be accurate. Americans do have some democratic traditions and tendencies. America is not a monolithic society. As a collectivity Americans tend to want to be liked and approved; they are, therefore, sensitive to public opinion. Americans can and will accommodate to policies other than their own. First, however, alternative policies must exist, be firmly supported and relevant to real problems, and be intelligently and tactfully presented.

If these conditions are met, then it will be much easier "to do something about the Americans." The Americans were once "owned" by the English, but they didn't assume there was nothing they could do about it. I am not encouraging violent rebellion, of course, but I do encourage vigorous and intelligent organisation of alternative policies rather than acquiescence in policies with which you don't agree but support because you feel "nothing can be done."

South Africa

IN your editorial in Peace News (Oct. 3, 1952), you refer to Dr. O'Connor, who recently left South Africa with the feeling that Europeans there are parasites, as a South African. I had endeavoured to make it clear that Dr. O'Connor's stay in South Africa, as well as his occupancy of the Witwatersrand professorship, were both temporary and concurrent. Dr. O'Connor is, in fact, an Englishman. This in no way detracts from the merits of his action, or opinions.

You also comment on Mr. Marquard's book 'Peoples and Policies of South Africa,' and suggest that Mr. Marquard's argument implies a position of permanent non-European inequality. It may be that his argument will be used to do so; Mr. Marquard himself—as proved by his signing the Liberals' declaration referred to in my current article—believes in "equal rights for all civilised people and equal opportunities for all men and women to become civilised." His comment that colonial areas in which there is a permanent white population present a particularly difficult problem of race relations seem to me useful and valid. I do not think that this point affects either my—or Mr. Marquard's—belief in the justice of total equality. The problem is one of method and the pace at which change takes place from inequality to equality. On these there may be (legitimate) differences between you and Mr. Marquard, and between Mr. Marquard and myself.

O. CALDECOTT.

19 Ardberg Road, London, S.E.24.

Non-violence and Nazism

I READ Kathleen Rawlins' letter "Non-violence and Nazism" and that the American Quaker group noted a softening effect on the faces of the Gestapo chiefs in Berlin in 1938.

It is obvious to me that the interview was only granted because it was an American delegation. In 1938 the Nazi party tried to make a good impression abroad, especially in America.

Rufus Jones would have not been able to see the "gentleness of these men" in the notorious extermination camp of Birkenau near Auschwitz, when the transport of children, among other transports from Theresienstadt, were marched to the gas chambers, ending in the murder of 4½ million innocent people.

REFUGEE.

Name and address supplied.

The bombing of Hiroshima

IN your leading article on September 19 there appears the statement "the responsibility being borne by Mr. Roosevelt, now dead." Should it not read "Mr. Truman, still alive"?

In the same article "Presumably all the Allied Cabinets were consulted." Should not this read none of the Allied cabinets were consulted? It is possible that the British Cabinet was informed that the atom bomb was to be dropped.

The Russian leadership was certainly not consulted.

It has been alleged that Japan had already signified her intention to surrender before the order to drop the Atom bomb was given.

A. E. FLEW.

25 Leconfield Avenue, Barnes, S.W.13.

The reference to Mr. Roosevelt was a slip. We are obliged to our correspondent for drawing attention to it. We should be grateful to him if he would intimate why he is sure that the Russian Government was not consulted. We believe that every Allied Government was consulted.—Ed.

"Z-cloud": a warning

THE Monte Bello explosion brings renewed emphasis to the urgency of solving the international problems, especially those existing between East and West.

I find it extremely difficult to visualise any circumstances where there exists a mass iniquity restrained only by such indiscriminate and ruthless extermination as that resulting from atomic bombing; unless, ironically, it is our acquiescence in the infamous preparations we now witness.

We are told that after this latest atomic explosion, a cloud of smoke and dust rose like a dizzy 'Z' above the island. Alphabetically 'Z' is the End.

Let us accept this phenomenon as a prophetic warning.

W.E.B.

U.S. War Dept. will be safe

All reasonable men pray that an atomic war will never come, but there is comfort in knowing that, if one does, those charged with commanding the defence of this country may be enabled to go on with their truly vital job in windowless buildings which would yield to an atomic blow, absorb it and remain virtually intact.—*Baltimore Sun (USA).*

Notes for your Diary

Wednesday, October 15

BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., Holloway Head; PPU members' mtg.; Richard Ullmann on "The Problem of Germany".

BURTON: 7.30 p.m. 26 Wellington Park, Clifton; address by Barclay Sampson; PPU.

CHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Frodsham St.; Rev. H. Creaves L.B. on "All or Nothing"; For.

HIGH WYCOMBE: 7.30 p.m. Oak Room, Town Hall; Michael Scott's film "Civilisation on Trial in S. Africa"; speaker Mr. Naidon; For and PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. 26 Wilkinson St.; Geoffrey Tattersall on National Council affairs; PPU.

W. LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. 15 New Scarbro Rd.; Bramley; discussion with Baptist Church Fellowship on "The Christian Way to Peace"; PPU.

Thursday, October 16

LETHBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., South View, Canon Collins on "The Road to Peace"; For.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd.; Osita Aduba SRN on Nigeria; PPU.

Sat., October 18-Sun., Oct. 19

EASTBOURNE: YMCA Holiday Centre, For Area Conference. Hugh Faulkner on "Talking Peace in Moscow" and "Christian Responsibility"; details from Geoffrey Barber, The Butts, Willingdon, Eastbourne.

SUNDAY, October 19

CAMBRIDGE: 3.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Service of Dedication conducted by Rev. J. D. Jackson. For.

HODDESDON: 8 p.m. Everyman's House, High St. (beside Clock Tower Bus Stop). O. Caldecott, former president, South African Union of Students, on "The Racial Crisis in South Africa." Discussion and refreshments. Hoddeston and District Pacifist Group, PPU and For.

LONDON, S.W.1: 3 p.m. Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd. Universalist service; Roy Walker on "The Lord of Life"; PPU Religious Fellowship.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 2.15 p.m. Four Ways Cafe. J. Allen Skinner, Editor, PN, on "The Pacifist Challenge Today"; PPU SE Area.

Monday, October 20

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m. The Small Guildhall; public mtg.; Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven DD and Hugh Faulkner on "Peace and the Christian"; SoF and For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 5 p.m. 38 Gordon Sq.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on "Talking Peace in Moscow"; London University For Group.

OXFORD: 6.30 p.m. Cowley Rd. Cong. Ch. Lecture Hall; Service of Re-dedication; Oxford City For.

Wednesday, October 22

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Charring Hall, Town Hall Sq.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on "A Visit to Russia—Impressions of a Christian non-Communist"; For.

Thursday, October 23

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Heath St.; "Anarchism, has it a place in Society?"; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Ray Lamb on his visit to Russia; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St.; Rev. Patrick Figgis on "The Relevance of the Old Testament Prophets for Today"; Central London PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, October 24

ELTHAM: 7.45 p.m. Sherard Hall (rear of Cong. Ch. Cong. Rd.); Public Mtg. "A New Way to Peace"; Victor Yates MP, Minnie Pallister, Stuart Morris; PPU.

Sat. Oct. 25-Sunday, Oct. 26

TRURO: Sat. 4 p.m. The Youth Hostel Truro Cornwall Area Conference—"In Faith... or in Fear?"; Hugh Faulkner, Frank Vibert, Stanley Keeble. For.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE: Milford Lodge Hotel. Area Conference. Speaker Jack Boag. Particulars from Stanley Salter, 6 Kensington Gdns., Bath. For.

Friday, October 31

LONDON, W.C.1: Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq.; Peace News Birthday and Dick Sheppard Anniversary; 6.30: Social and refreshments (2s. 6d.); 7.30: Speeches by Humphrey Moore, Allen Skinner and Vera Brittain; excerpts from Shakespeare by Ann Casson and Douglas Campbell; piano recital by Frank Merriek; film shorts of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury; adm. 1s.; PPU.

Sat. Nov. 1-Sun., Nov. 2

DAWLISH: Fairfield Guest House. PPU Area Conference on "War? We say no! Our task in 1952." Speakers Rev. Douglas Wollen, Frank Vibert and Alan Mister. Charge (Sat. tea to Monday breakfast) 27s. 6d. Bookings (with 5s. deposit) to Kathleen Jackson, Oakleigh School, Newton St. Cyres, Exeter.

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

"GERMAN REARMAMENT—The Fatal Step." Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Fri. Oct. 10, 7.30. Organised by Ctte. for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem. Chairman: Stuart Morris. Speakers: Fenner Brockway MP, Victor Yates MP, John Elton and others.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS: Dr. Joseph Needham, MA, PhD Sc.D, FRSE, will answer your questions on Germ Warfare in China and Korea. Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Wednesday, October 15, 7.30 p.m. Questions may be sent to BCFA or handed in at meeting. Tickets 1s. from: British-China Friendship Association, 17 Bishop's Bridge Rd., W.2 (AMB 1431/2). Stamped addressed envelopes please.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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Sylvia Pankhurst's protest

(Continued from page one)

thoughtful, and removed his name from the register of COs.

Objected to war in Korea

Richard Pankhurst—the son of Sylvia Pankhurst, famous for her activities as a suffragette—applied for exemption on political and ethical grounds.

In his statement he said that for the past six years he had devoted himself to historical, social and political studies at London University and had just taken his Ph.D. He was strongly opposed to the internationalisation of the war in Korea, which seemed to him a civil war, indistinguishable for example from the Chinese Civil War. There had been no attempt to submit the matter to arbitration, and the way in which the war was being prosecuted, entailing the mass destruction of men, women and children, filled him with despondency.

Dr. Pankhurst said he had long been an opponent of colonial wars, and had opposed the wars in Malaya, Viet Nam and elsewhere. As regards rearmament, the West

had claimed that it was purely for defensive purposes, but now people were saying that it must achieve the liberation of Eastern Europe.

In answer to questions, Dr. Pankhurst said that he was not an absolute pacifist, and would have fought in 1939, but he had a conscientious objection to certain wars, and to all the wars that he thought were likely to get into in the present epoch.

The Chairman told him that the Tribunal had always taken the view that they could not exempt people because they objected to particular wars or particular weapons in those wars. The time to object to the war in Korea would be if he were ordered to go there.

His mother, who appeared as a witness, said "Everyone knows that once you don the uniform you must fight, and this is the only chance he has."

The Tribunal refused to grant exemption.

Reports of three other cases will appear next week. Reservoirs at Apellate Tribunal—page four.

Fred Longden, MP

Fred Longden, Labour MP for Small Heath, Birmingham, died on Sunday at his home in Ansell Road, Erdington at the age of 64.

The following appreciation is by FRED MESSER, JP, MP.

FRED LONGDEN was one of the few early propagandists who never completely lost his idealism. His bitter opposition to war and his powerful advocacy for international friendship was not just emotionalism but the result of deep thinking. He would argue powerfully that war was economically unsound but more important that it was morally wrong.

He did not waver in his faith and when he entered Parliament in 1929 he looked forward to continuing the work he had been doing up and down the country. The House of Commons, however, was a disappointing place for him and in his impatience he chafed against the slow working of the machine and the lack of opportunity for the back-bencher. He was not spoiled by his successes but always striving to use whatever position he was in to advance the causes in which he believed.

It was not merely mental capacity which enabled a boy who left elementary school at thirteen to gain the Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Hard work and strength of character were also factors which made their contribution and which were so much in evidence during the first world war when he underwent a two year period of imprisonment as a conscientious objector—although he was offered exemption on health grounds.

He had good reason to be cynical but never became a cynic. He never wavered in his belief that ultimately the world would find its salvation in the principles of brotherhood and it can be said of him that he did his best to spread that gospel. He could have used his undoubted ability for his own ends, he could have taken an easy path but he chose to spend his life in the service of his fellows and to help forward the cause of humanity.

To those who knew him in his propaganda days on the old Clarion van—as I did—and who worked with him in Parliament in his later years, there comes the realisation that there are too few of his type today and he will be remembered as an old colleague who saw a vision of the future and did his best to make that vision real. Undaunted by defeat, he suffered disappointment and disillusionment; betrayed by his leaders he clung to his faith. He did not reach his goal but made it easier for others to do so.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Congress of Peoples against Imperialism TAKING THE COLONIAL PEOPLES STRUGGLES TO UN

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM met in London from September 19 to 22.

As one of the non-governmental advisory bodies accredited to the United Nations, the Congress is sending a representative—Mr. Roger Baldwin—to the General Assembly at Lake Success, and the Committee drew up a statement of its views on Colonial issues and other sources of tension in Africa and Asia, which will be circulated to all UN delegates.

At a press conference at the close of the meeting, the international chairman, Fenner Brockway MP, suggested that the struggles of the Colonial peoples might not only become a bigger issue in the near future than the cold war, but might provide a solution to the cold war by turning attention towards constructive changes rather than towards division.

The following are some of the points in the statement to the United Nations:

SOUTH AFRICA

All delegations to UN which acclaim human liberty, equality and co-operation are urged to support the initiative taken by the Indian and other Governments to place the subject of racial discrimination in South Africa on the UN agenda, since it is a threat to peace, and is arousing hostility to the Union among all the African and Asian populations.

KENYA

Government measures which deny the essential freedoms of speech, writing, meeting, association and movement are in conflict with the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The British and Kenya Governments should be requested to administer the colony according to the Charter of the United Nations.

The Assembly should enquire into land alienation with the object of relieving the land hunger of the Africans and restoring land to their use.

NORTH AFRICA

The statement outlines the position in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, where freedom of speech and assembly are being suppressed and the French Government has rejected all appeals for the establishment of self-government.

As regards Tunisia, an attempt to bring the problem before the Security Council in April 1952 was defeated as a result of the opposition of the colonial powers and the abstention of other nations. A fresh attempt is now being made to bring it before UN, this time at the General Assembly.

The Moroccan issue came before the General Assembly in November 1951, and is to be raised again by the Arab-Asian group this year.

In Algeria, the Congress hopes that the United Nations will take note of a bill which the French Government has laid before the National Assembly, designed to condemn as a danger to the security of the state any person claiming independence for any territory under French jurisdiction.

MADAGASCAR

The United Nations has already made an enquiry into conditions in this country, where 80,000 people were imprisoned in

ATOMIC ALLIES

No nation can, in present circumstances be truly sovereign, no power can possess a fully independent policy, without the weapon which eclipses all other weapons in destructive power: the Atom Bomb . . . it is certain that a critical stage in Britain's march to recovered power has now been completed . . . and there should be immense satisfaction that this has been accomplished.
—Evening Standard, October 3, 1952.

... there is certainly cause for quiet pride in that we now share the possession of such weapons . . . The prospects of peace have been strengthened at Monte Bello.
—Daily Telegraph, October 4, 1952.

THE pride with which the Press has greeted the explosion of Britain's atom bomb has had in it a curious mixture of pomposity, obsequiousness, and veiled threats, directed not so much at Russia, as at the USA.

That the atom race is on, is obvious without the pointed comments of the newspapers, but if Russia is a competitor she seems to have been out of range of the observers, for the whole idea, so long dinned into us by Mr. Churchill and others, that we had at all costs to be superior to Russia in order to prevent that country

launching an attack upon this island, seems to have been lost in the Z-shaped clouds of the new weapon, for after all it seems the great effort is designed to "show" the USA.

Something like £120m. has been spent on this experiment, spent by a nation which cannot afford to build houses and hospitals for its people, nor supply more than 2 ozs. of butter per person, per week. It has been quickly forgotten that this country pointed, not so much the finger of scorn, as the turned down thumb of bitter condemnation at the people of Germany, when it was alleged they chose guns rather than butter. Great Britain now justifies the choice of mass-destruction weapons in preference to housing and health, let alone peace.

We do not yet know what kind of weapon has been produced; the Manchester Guardian suggests it may even be the much talked of hydrogen bomb, and that it could be "deadlier than anything so far known." What we do know now is that it has been produced more in order to force America to share her secrets and recognise Britain not as a mere satellite, but a powerful ally, than to defend ourselves against Russia.

The Manchester Guardian, however, asks "Now that more than one member of NATO has an atomic weapon, who is to decide—in given circumstances—whether it shall be used?"

This seems a little disingenuous since it has already been used in Japan, and apparently with the full concurrence of the British War Cabinet.

High explosives were the accepted weapon of the last war; an extension of that weapon is already the weapon of the next. It is more than time that the Press, which is constantly asserting its integrity and its freedom from any kind of state influence, discarded cant of this kind and let ordinary people know the facts.

A gamble in mass murder

The American people, some thousands of miles from any potential enemy, may possibly escape the total destruction should war come; their Government has taken care to have a good strong "forward base" and their bombers, pilots and ammunition have already taken up their positions on this island; but the people of this country are in a front line that has no sand-bagged parapet, nor barbed wire deterrent; there will be no defence other than the immoral and brutal one of destroying enemy human beings as though they were "worthless flies," more quickly than the enemy can destroy them. This is not defence; it is a sickening gamble in mass murder.

A race in armaments with America is in some ways an even greater menace than one with Russia, for this is a competition for power that may eventually come to be decided by the simple means of picking on a mutual enemy and sinking all differences in the holocaust; in other words, a war with Russia before Britain gets too "upish!"

The prospects of peace have not been strengthened by this country joining in the atom bomb competition. People can no more be defended by the atom bomb than peace can be secured by war; there is only one way to security and peace and that is the way, not of secrecy, suspicion and wholesale destruction, but of honest and open reconciliation. Though the sands are running out there is still time.

1947, and, says the statement, "its intervention is required in order to re-create a democratic atmosphere which may lead to the emancipation of this country."

THE MALAYAN CONFLICT

Four proposals are made for the solution of this conflict. They include the withdrawal of all foreign arms and troops and the appointment of an international commission under an Asian head to supervise the transition of self-government.

VIET NAM

"This conflict," says the statement, "cannot be solved short of a complete abolition of the colonial system and the absolute recognition of the independence and unity of Viet Nam, the evacuation of French troops and the organisation of free elections."

It is suggested that the conflict should be submitted for arbitration to the Asiatic nations neutral in the war.

KOREA

An immediate "cease fire" is urged, pending an agreement regarding the return of prisoners. The negotiations should be taken out of the hands of the military and carried on by an International Commission appointed by UN. A settlement should be negotiated on the basis of the unification and independence of Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, a pooled contribution towards the restoration of the country, and the administration of the territory under an international authority until a democratic election is possible.

MIDDLE EAST

A number of suggestions are made for the establishment of a stable peace. British troops should be withdrawn from Egypt, and Egypt should guarantee that the Suez Canal would be kept open as an international waterway; immediate self-government should be given to the Sudan; the right of nations, including Iran and Iraq, to own, control and distribute their natural resources should be recognised.

BRITISH PROTECTORATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The attempt to incorporate Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in the Union of South Africa should be resisted, because it would involve reducing the peoples of the Protectorates to the inferior status of the African population within the Union. Instead, British policy should aim at making the Protectorates models of racial equality, social justice, and educational and economic development.

Seretse Khama should be allowed to return to Bechuanaland as the chosen chief of the Bamangwato tribe.

On the question of Morocco, the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism has sent a letter to all delegations, pointing out that the General Assembly deferred a decision on the issue last December in order to enable France to continue negotiations for the introduction of reforms.

No reforms have, however, been introduced, and the letter goes on to urge that the situation should receive full consideration at Lake Success.

Replies have already been received from the Saudi Arabian Delegation and the Pakistan Mission, assuring the Congress of their intention to support the aspirations of the Moroccan people.

Three musts for your reading

QUAKERS VISIT RUSSIA 3s. 6d.
The detailed Report of last year's Mission.

KASHMIR. Horace Alexander 1s.
An objective survey of the problem.

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Marjorie Sykes.
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No. 851

Rail safety

By FRANK
Editor

THE triple row and public attention of rail safety

Despite the 400 million passengers, the railroads should be doing better.

There are, to say the least, a number of things which have been avoided, and which have been prevented, the being carried out measures?

To the first answer "No." known about them almost have been investigated which have been investigated.

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